



# ***Progress on Nonproliferation?***

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# **“Non” Proliferation**

## **Diplomacy**

**Treaties**

**Int’l Inspections**

**U.S. Sanctions/  
Incentives**

**UN Embargoes/  
Inspections**

**= What State does**

# **vs. “Counter” Proliferation**

## **Military Measures**

**Regime Change**

**Deterrence**

**Prevention**

**Preemption**

**Interdiction**

**Defenses**

**= What DoD does**

# ***Underlying Vision***

## **Nonproliferation**

- **Application of diplomatic tools can lead states to verifiably renounce WMD**
- **Proliferation not inevitable**

## **Counterproliferation**

- **Diplomatic tools insufficient to check determined proliferators**
- **Military measures needed for prevention and for addressing WMD in hands of successful proliferants**

# ***Progress. . .***

## ***Elimination of WMD via diplomacy***

- **Nuclear**: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, South Africa
- **Chemical**: India, Russia, South Korea, U.S. eliminating stockpiles

## ***Strengthening of regimes***

- Indefinite extension of NPT; new members
- Entry into force of CWC
- Opening for signature of CTBT

***But military measures also contributed –***

*In practice, a duality not a dichotomy with nonproliferation*

# ***Nonproliferation Regimes Crucial to Sustain Global Norms Against WMD***

- **Strengthen domestic, anti-WMD constituencies**
- **Reinforce *credible* WMD renunciations**
- **Provide basis for multilateral export controls**
- **Contribute to detection of cheating**
- **Provide accepted forum for enforcement**
- **Help legitimize broader multilateral or coalition action, e.g., at UN**



# Iraq

## Nonproliferation

**Norms (NPT, Geneva Protocol) legitimized UNSC Res. 687 & 1441, including warning of “serious consequences”**



## Counterproliferation

**Reinforced  
Inspections**

**Preventive War**

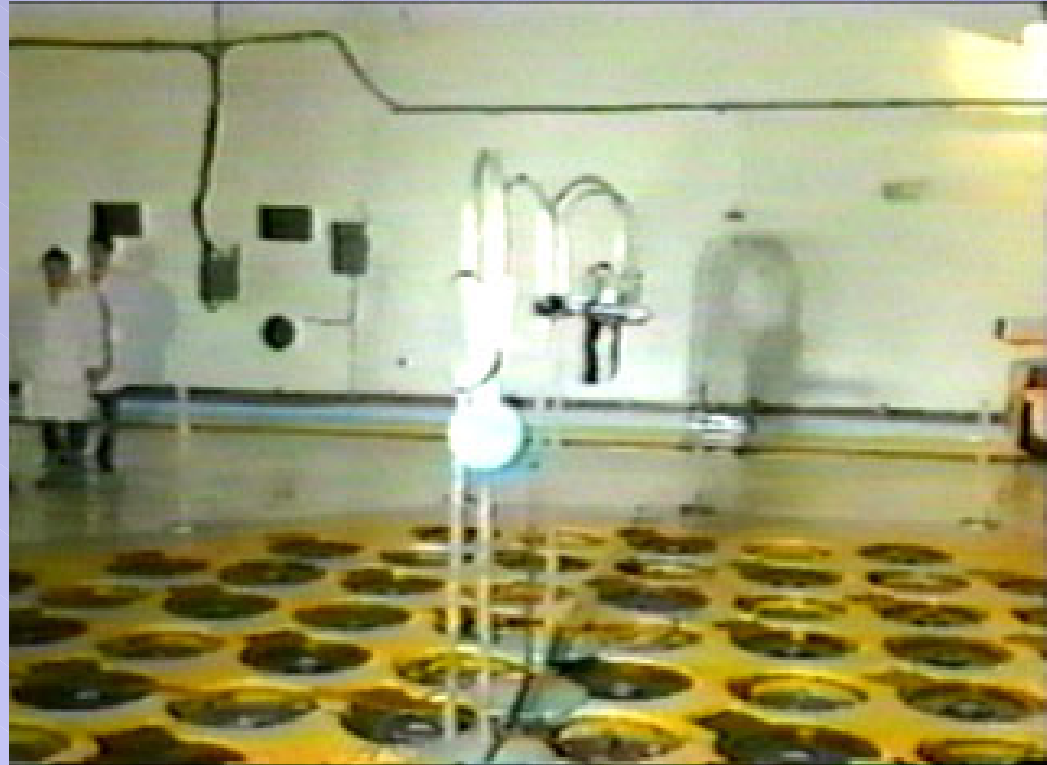
# North Korea

## Nonproliferation

- Diplomacy is leading edge of U.S. policy
- Nuclear Free Peninsula legitimized by NPT regime

## Counterproliferation

- Military intervention not practical
- Proliferation Security Initiative (interdiction + signaling)



*Yongbyon plutonium reactor*

# Iran

## Nonproliferation

- Diplomacy is leading edge of U.S. policy
- Using NPT regime tools

## Counterproliferation

- Military intervention not practical
- U.S. forces nearby add pressure
- Proliferation Security Initiative



**NATANZ, IRAN -- CLOSE-UP**



INSTITUTE FOR SCIENCE AND  
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IMAGE CREDIT: DIGITALGLOBE  
DATE OF IMAGE: 16 SEPTEMBER 2002

**THE GAS CENTRIFUGE URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANT AT NATANZ, IRAN.**



# *Conclusions*

- **Nonproliferation & Counterproliferation a *duality, not a dichotomy***
- ***Both* are crucial to U.S. national security**
- **North Korea and Iran show limitations of each approach... and the need to employ them together**
- **Goal should be to strengthen both elements of U.S. policy and refrain from publicly disparaging them**